While the Bedouins
795 respect the Sanusi family they, nevertheless, wear their
977 religion lightly. An informant, speaking of the merits and
829 demerits of the conservative Muslim Brethern Association, said that "you should never listen to a holy man, for he will lead
[576] you straight to hell!" But upon meeting any member of the
[978] Sanusi family, all Bedouins greet him by kissing his hand. Besides a show of deference, this ritual act, in theory, transfers baraka from al-Sanusi to the layman.

648 The citizenship exemptions granted the Bedouins by
641 Muhammad 'Ali have been rescinded by Abd al-Nasser. This has been one aspect of his program to imbue the Bedouin with political consciousness and promote participation in the nation-state. The Bedouins say that this is the way it should be: they want the right to own land and to accept the responsibility of defending the homeland. But they still do
[65] not pay land taxes, and they feel justified in this because the desert "is very poor soil, and not like that of the Nile." Nor do they always heed the call to military duty, though they insist that they do.

648 Egyptian land reform laws would be impractical, or
179 impossible to apply, in al-Qasr. In the Nile Valley, such
423 laws were necessary. The majority of the Egyptian peasants can survive on less than one acre of land, and farms of under five acres comprise 44 per cent of the agricultural land area in the Nile Valley (Warriner 1962:204). Plots this

585 room, until he arrives for the test of her virginity. The groom "takes blood with his finger," wipes it on the white toga which his bride had been veiled with, and hands it to the older women waiting outside the tent. In the meantime, [792] the two fathers have met with the faqiih ("holy man") who [675] witnesses the agreement on the mahr payment. They read the Fatiha of the Quran together and conclude the marriage contract. The old women, carrying the toga with the virginal blood on it--a symbol of honor to both of the groups concerned with the marriage--parade around the guests' tent showing it, while all the time letting out shrill victory cries (zaghaariid = "trilling cries of joy"). The toga is then pinned-up on the side of the guests' tent for all to 585 see. Animals are slaughtered and the feast begins. The 574 central activity of the feast takes place in the guests' tent, the tent of the male guests. The groom's father, in • [576] the traditional role of host, does not sit down to eat with his guests but directs the seating and feeding of them.

585 Should it happen that the girl is not a virgin, the 684 wedding would end on the spot, and the girl would be sent away or killed by her father. My informants said that this has never happened in al-Qasr. One key informant told me that such a thing never happens because the groom would never permit it to be known that "his cousin was not a virgin." In other words, the groom will get the blood from somewhere,

156 tional style of Bedouin hospitality--"as we used to do in
159 Cyrenaica"--and spent a total of 50 L.E. for the welcoming
554 ceremony. "This money was from his own pocket," as the
829 Bedouins of al-Qasr complained after it was learned that
574 the vice-President would not visit Matruh after all. As
648 a matter of fact, all of the Bedouin leaders who had been
invited to the reception by Hajj 'Ali refused to eat the
food, for they said that it had not been prepared for them.
[576] This act was taken as a show of respect for Hajj 'Ali and
anger with bureaucrats.

156 Hajj 'Ali is the representative of al-Qasr to the
159 Arab Socialist Union which meets in Marsa Matruh and has
554 cell meetings in al-Qasr. The socialist cell in al-Qasr
648 meets about three times a month. When I asked why Hajj 'Ali
668 was the man chosen to represent all of al-Qasr at section
[124] meetings of the Union, the reply was: "Because he is a member
[635] of the Majlis al-Muhafza." There was one section meeting
of the Union in Matruh while I was in the field. The theme
of the meeting was "The Meaning of Socialism." Hajj 'Ali
attended this meeting.

156 In sum, it seems not too far afield to say that Hajj
159 'Ali is prepared to take over the leadership of the Bedouins
554 in a much more sophisticated manner than one could possibly
expect from the traditional style of politics. Hajj 'Ali's
[634] comments about the 'umda and the 'umda's probable successor

had started in the area at that time. No special permission was required for the newcomer to join the camp. He only got the permission of the person whose tent was at the far end of the camp to put his tent next to it. The first night after the man joined the camp, his next door neighbor slaughtered a goat in honor of the new member and invited all members of the camp.

Leaving the camp also does not require any permission, although the custom specifies that before one leaves he should inform either his neighbor or the headman of his time of departure. With the exception of cases where the headman of a particular camp is at the same time the Aqila of the bait, the headman of the camp has no authority over the members of the camp. He is usually called upon to solve minor problems between brothers or husband and wife, or give his opinion in decisions of minor importance. "A headman is like a father," said one informant, "we call him kabir el-nagi (the old man of the camp)." When a member of the nagei is involved in a serious dispute with another, the one to handle the case is the aqila or awaqil to whom the two disputing parties belong.

Group	Leadership	Identifying aspects
Kabila	None	Client groups attached.
Eila	None	Vengeance group. Vaguely defined tribal land ("watan").
Bait	Aqila	Corporate land-holding. Formally recognized leadership.
Nagei	Headman	Residential unit with unsegmented structure.

628 683 613 the area. He caught him and slapped him and ordered him not to do it again. After a short while the boy returned with his two older brothers who protested Sheikh Mughaieb's hitting their younger brother. The argument developed into a fight during which the two brothers hit Mughaieb with a heavy stick over his head making him unconscious.

The Mi'ad was held two weeks after the incident. When I arrived at Sheikh Mughaieb's house, the meeting was being held in the guest room in the back of the house. Present at the meeting were Sheikh Mughaieb, his father, two distant relatives of Mughaieb who were visiting the area at the time; Sheikh Mutair, the Aqila of the powerful bait of Mutair located some twenty miles east of Mughaieb; the two assailants, their father who at the same time was the Aqila of their bait, and two neighbors of Sheikh Mughaieb.

[576] For the first half hour or so nothing was said. People were sitting silently except for occasional greetings of "how are you?" and the response of "thank God for everything". Tea was served frequently. Then [777] Sheikh Mutair addressed the gathering and read the "fatha" or the beginning passage of the Qoraan (which appeals to God to show his right ways to the believers and to guide them to wisdom). He then said, "In the blessed presnece of all these honorable guests and with the help of God and his prophet we will clear the hearts of those concerned of the grudges caused by the shameful and unfortunate incident in which the devil has played a major role." Then Sheikh Karim, the Aqila of the bait to which the accused belonged, continued the speech saying that this shameful thing should never have happened and that his sons must [867] have been possessed by the devil to have done it. After all, they have been brought up to respect their elders and especially Sheikh Mughaieb, who was like a second father to him.

628 683 613 [576] who was like a second father to them. He praised Sheikh Mughaieb for being understanding. He then said that Sheikh Mughaieb was very generous and that his sons had come to Mughaieb the day before and kissed the top of his head (an expression of respect for forgiveness). He said that no money, no matter how great, could erase the harm done by his sons but that he had offered to pay Sheikh Mughaieb the sum of 400 pounds as "kabara" or face-saving compensation. (The kabara will be discussed in a forthcoming chapter, but for the time being it is worth noting that the above amount is the maximum for such compensation since it equals the bloodmoney for a man). Then he turned to Sheikh Mughaieb and asked him to accept it in front of the respected guests. Sheikh Mughaieb then spoke for the first time and said that the two boys were like sons to him and that he had no hard feelings toward them anymore, since he believed that young people were sometimes carried away in their actions. He then proceeded to say that in honor of the honorable guests who took the time to attend the hearing he was forfeiting half the amount. At that time a woman brought the food the women were cooking for the gathering, and Sheikh Karim asked Mughaieb, "How about the honor of the good women of the house who have done all the work and cooked all the food? If you ask me, they deserve at least another hundred pounds." Mughaieb said, "All right, fifty pounds for the home of the women, but no more." After that Sheikh Karim paid the amount of a hundred and fifty pounds to Sheikh Mughaieb and shook hands with him. He also shook hands with the two young men who had assaulted him, and the gathering started the dinner and tea.

627 628 Not all Mi'ads in the area proveed with that smoothness. Many of them are characterized by shouting and arguments and frequently no .

584 578 606 686 Two days after the groom left, the bride's father (who is at the same time Hassanein's daughter's father-in-law) came to Hassanein and told him that the marriage was called off and that he should send a letter to the groom telling him the news. The reasons given by the bride's father were that the groom showed improper manners when he stayed overnight at the camp and that he followed the prospective bride to the water well to have a close look at her. He gave the money to Hassanein and asked him to return it to the man in Matruh. Hassanein was very disappointed and considered this an insult to him, since he was the mediator in that marriage, and insisted that the bride's father go on with the marriage. When the latter refused, Hassanein went to his daughter and ordered her to leave with him. Her husband was there and could not refuse to let her go with her father, even when Hassanein made it clear that her husband could not have her back unless his father kept his agreement with Hassanein's guest. Elewah, the daughter's husband, asked for a mi'ad to discuss the matter with his father-in-law. The mi'ad was held in Hassanein's house and was attended by Hassanein, his son-in-law, and two people from a different lineage, each selected by one of the disputing parties. Hassanein refused to give any reason for taking his daughter away from her husband except that he was exercising his rights. Eleway, on the other hand, insisted that Hassanein was not justified in his actions and that it was not right to punish him for something that his father did. The two representatives tried to calm both parties and to reach an agreement but were not successful. The mi'ad dissolved with Hassanein not only insisting on keeping his daughter, but also threatening to marry her to a rich man in the area. The case was not solved by the time I left the field.

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233 animals to drink, sat on the edge of the well with his feet in the cool water of the pool completely absorbed in his thoughts amidst the quiet surroundings. Passing by the pool at that time was Mahdi 233 576 165 from a neighboring tribal segment. Seeing Idris (whom he had not known), he shouted the customary greeting, "Peace on you." Startled by the voice of Mahdi, Idris lost his balance and fell in the deep water of the pool. Mahdi rushed to help him, but the water was too deep, and Idris drowned. Feeling sorry for Idris, Mahdi took the flock and went back to the camp of Idris where he informed the latter's wife of what had happened. A few days later, Mahdi was 682 627 [613] paid a visit by Sheikh Elewa, the aqila of Bait Asabei' and known mardi in the area who informed Mahdi that the family of Idris was demanding the payment of the sum of L.E. 300 for the death of their 682 627 672 613 relative. A Mi'ad was set for the following week. In that Mi'ad, and after Mahdi admitted that it was his greeting that had startled Idris and caused him to fall in the well, the two Mardis representing the two parties agreed that the payment of the sum of three hundred pounds was in order and that Mahdi and his amar must pay it to the victim's family as soon as possible. At first, Mahdi seemed to accept the judgment of the two Mardis, especially when both were prominant members of some of the influential tribal segments in the area. But Mahdi was a poor man, and his amar was very small in number, which made the payment of the bloodmoney almost impossible. 682 627 672 695 Although appeal in the ordinary legal sense does not exist in such a system like that of Awlad Ali, where no judgment is forced upon any of the disputing parties, and where the pronouncement of the

682 settlement is usually made after the parties have agreed to it,
627 yet, in certain instances where one of the parties later feels that
672 the settlement was not just or that he was coerced into accepting
695 it, he may ask for a second Mi'ad during which new procedures start
in the case. In the present case, although Mahdi had originally
accepted the judgment of the awaqil, as time passed and he real-
ised that he was unable to pay the bloodmoney, he started to ques-
tion the feasibility of the settlement. He discussed the matter
682 with Sheikh Suliman el-Gerery from the Murabiteen tribe of Gerera,
672 a tribe whose members are feared throughout the area for the belief
695 that they have certain supernatural powers. Sheikh Suliman himself
554 is highly respected, and people believe that after his death he will
992 become "wali" or a saint. After hearing Mahdi's complaint, Sheikh
[776] Suliman told him that the settlement was unjust and told him that he
would do something about it. The following Thursday, Sheikh Suliman
called on Mahdi and asked him to bring his donkey and follow him.
They rode to a small desert town called Bahig where the local market
613 is held every Thursday. On market day, the awaqil of various tribal
517 segments usually gather in front of the general store in the town
571 drinking tea and chatting until their sons or the younger members
443 of their families sell the sheep and buy the necessary items. Every-
• 576 one passing by the gathering is expected to greet the gathering, get-
ting off his donkey as a sign of respect to the prominent people.
[589] Failure to greet a fellow tribesman is considered a serious offense
liable to a fine of more than L. 50 and ten goats in certain cases.
[673] It is considered a very serious crime. One informant once told me,
000

124 One informant once told me,
576 "If you don't greet me, this means that you hate me, and if you
829 hate me, there is no limit to the kind of harm you can do me and my family. One who hates you can kill you, and none can walk safely anywhere if he fears that he will be killed."

682 As Sheikh Suliman and Mahdi reached the general store, every-
689 one was gathering there as usual, including the two awaqil who
672 were involved in the original settlement. Sheikh Suliman told
695 Mahdi not to dismount his donkey and not to say the customary
554 greeting as they passed by the gathering. When they passed the
792 gathering, everyone stood to greet Sheikh Suliman who ignored them
576 and left with Mahdi. No one believed that Sheikh Suliman, who should be the guard of the tribal tradition, should commit such an unforgivable violation of the norms of the people. The next morn-
682 ing the whole area was talking about a big Mi'ad to "take the right"
689 from Sheikh Suliman and Mahdi, who had insulted the gathering. The
672 Mi'ad was held a week after the incident. During the Mi'ad, Sheikh
695 Suliman was asked to explain his behavior, and his answer was, "How
554 do you want me to greet all those people who were sitting in front
792 of the store? There were more than thirty men in that gathering,
576 and I was afraid that if I said the customary greeting, I might
627 have startled some of them causing them to harm themselves, leaving me with the payment of so many bloodmoneys." Immediately, the attendants of the Mi'ad knew what Sheikh Suliman was referring to, and that his action was to prove that the settlement reached in the case of Mahdi was wrong and that it set a very dangerous precedent which would cause people to avoid greeting one another, "and hatred will prevail among brothers and nobody will be safe in his own home."

105 On the other hand, there is always a feeling of rivalry and hostility
598 between the different tribal segments which goes back to the era of
571 tribal warfare. Thus, the social relations among the tribal population are characterized by a certain amount of ambivalence which is hidden behind a facade of formality in the way tribal members treat one another
105 in day-to-day activities. There are certain rules of etiquette describ-
571 ing the way members of the same tribal segment should behave toward one
576 another and toward other tribesmen and outsiders. Failure to abide by
[589] these rules may subject the violator to a symbolic fine of a goat or a
574 sheep slaughtered for a feast to which everyone is invited. These feasts,
[182] or dinners as they are called, have various functions, the most important
105 of which is the integrative one. In an area where the population is usu-
571 ally dispersed, these dinners offer an opportunity to the tribesmen who
574 happen to be in the area at the time of the feast to attend, where they
182 eat, meet other tribesmen, and exchange information about what is happening in other parts of the area. It is from such dinners that the tribesmen get to know about the available pastures, about the prices of sheep and goats in different markets, and about who is doing what and where. The occasion also signifies the restoration of the violator of the rules to the social life of the group and the reinforcement of those rules.
105 This is also true with the tribal meetings, or mi'ad, which are held to
629 announce settlements in more serious cases. It is on this basis that
182 the mi'ad should not be considered as a tribal court. It is more of a
[589] social occasion where food and drinks are served and where parties in-
574 volved and all those invited by them talk about everything except the
[589] dispute itself. In certain instances, the financial settlement agreed upon in the informal mediation is exaggerated when announced in the mi'ad